

Message Text

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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 219617

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, EC, GW, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: BERLIN AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

REF: A.) BONN 13788 B.) BONN 13789 C.) BERLIN 1770

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1. DEPARTMENT IS GRATEFUL FOR THOUGHTFUL DISCUSSION OF
BERLIN-EC RELATIONSHIP PROVIDED IN REFTELS AND PREVIOUS
MESSAGES. WE ARE AWARE THAT ALLIES AND FRG ARE ENTERING
COMPLEX AREA WHERE HARD AND FAST RULES WILL BE DIFFICULT

TO FORMULATE. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ON A QUESTION WHICH WE BELIEVE REQUIRES CONSIDERABLY MORE DISCUSSION.

2. IN OUR VIEW, QUESTIONS BEFORE BONN GROUP CAN BEST BE DEALT WITH IF THEY ARE BROKEN DOWN INTO TWO MAJOR CATEGORIES: (A) WHAT STEPS IF ANY SHOULD BE TAKEN NOW TO ENSURE THAT APPLICATION OF VARIOUS EC ACTIONS IN BERLIN IS DONE IN CONFORMITY WITH ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES; AND (B) WHAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN OVER THE LONGER TERM TO ENSURE THAT FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS EC POLITICAL

INTEGRATION ARE NOT APPLIED INCORRECTLY IN BERLIN. WE BELIEVE BONN GROUP SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH MORE IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS WITHOUT WAITING FOR STUDY AND DECISION ON LONGER TERM ISSUES.

3. WHERE THE FIRST QUESTION IS CONCERNED, WE FEEL STRONGLY THAT STRICTER CONTROL SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNAL ALLIED-FRG-SENAT CONSULTATION AND REVIEW MECHANISMS RATHER THAN THROUGH ISSUANCE OF DETAILED BK/L ALONG LINES OF THE FRENCH DRAFT (REF (B)). THIS PREFERENCE IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

A.) WHILE THE CONTROL PROCEDURES CONTAINED IN THE FRENCH TEXT DO NOT CHANGE THE "EXISTING SITUATION," ISSUANCE OF SUCH A DETAILED DOCUMENT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE VIEWED BY THE SOVIETS AS SUPPORT FOR VIEWS THAT "EXISTING SITUATION" DOES NOT INCLUDE AUTHORIZATION OF AUTOMATIC INCLUSION OF WSB IN EC DEVELOPMENTS. THIS WOULD ONLY ADD IMPETUS TO WHAT WE BELIEVE IS A CONCERTED SOVIET EFFORT TO DRAW THE LINE ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TIES BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE EC. WE HESITATE TO LEND SUCH SUPPORT TO SOVIET VIEW UNTIL WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT WE WISH TO DRAW A LINE AT SOME POINT AND LIMIT WSB INTEGRATION IN EC.

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B.) ON ISSUES OF THIS SORT WHERE LONG-STANDING POLICIES ARE INVOLVED, WE BELIEVE IT IS MUCH PREFERABLE TO ADAPT EXISTING ALLIED REGULATIONS THAN TO ATTEMPT NEW AND INCLUSIVE LEGISLATION. THIS VIEW IS BASED ON THE BELIEF THAT AS THE ISSUES FACING THE ALLIES IN BERLIN BECOME INCREASINGLY POLITICAL, THE THREE POWERS SHOULD TAKE CARE TO MAINTAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR POSITIONS ON SPECIFIC QUESTIONS. RELYING ON ADAPTATION OF EXISTING PRACTICES ALSO HELPS FOSTER A MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG AND THE SENAT.

3. DEPARTMENT REMAINS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW IMPROVED REVIEW PROCEDURES SHOULD BE AGREED. IF

UNDERSTANDING REACHED IN BONN GROUP IS THOUGHT TO BE SUFFICIENT, SUCH A METHOD WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. SHORT BK/L ALONG LINES OF TEXT PROPOSED IN PARA 5 OF REF (C) WOULD PROVIDE MORE FORMAL NOTIFICATION OF ALLIED CONCERNS. GIVEN FRENCH VIEWS, THIS MIGHT BE PREFERABLE APPROACH.

SUCH A SHORT BK/L MIGHT BE ACCOMPANIED BY BONN GROUP UNDERSTANDING ON SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE ADOPTED. THE BONN GROUP COULD DRAW UPON THE FRENCH DRAFT IN REACHING SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

4. WHERE LONGER TERM QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED, WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY BONN THAT TIME HAS COME FOR MORE DETAILED STUDY OF ISSUES INVOLVED. HOWEVER, GIVEN UNCERTAIN EC TIMETABLE AND POSSIBILITY THAT CURRENT PLANS FOR POLITICAL INTEGRATION COULD CHANGE SUBSTANTIALLY BEFORE BEING ADOPTED, WE BELIEVE IT IS TOO EARLY TO TAKE FINAL DECISIONS ON ALLIED POLICY WHERE INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED. AS FIRST STEP, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR THE BONN GROUP TO PREPARE AN ANALYSIS OF AREAS WHERE POLITICAL INTEGRATION COULD AFFECT BERLIN AND TO SUGGEST OPTIONS FOR ALLIED AND FRG REACTIONS TO PROBLEMS WHICH MIGHT BE INVOLVED. AFTER SUCH AN ASSESSMENT HAD BEEN COMPLETED, THE ALLIES AND FRG WOULD HAVE BETTER OVERALL IDEA OF ISSUES WE ARE LIKELY TO FACE IN COMING YEARS. KISSINGER

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